

of "How It Happened" from the manager of the western headquarters, it is bound to be the story of California. I take great pleasure in introducing, to tell us that story, the Honorable James D. Phelan, senator from California. (Applause.)

#### "THE AWAKENED WEST"

(By Honorable James D. Phelan, Senator from California.)

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Bryan and Gentlemen: I did not know how to take the sentiment, "The Awakening of the West" when it was interpreted by the other sentiment inscribed on the menu, "It is a kindness to lead the sober and a duty to lead the drunk." (Laughter.)

I recall that our historian, Hubert Howe Bancroft, in describing the several periods in California history, told of the exuberance attending the gold discovery and the revival of business after depression very much later, and that middle period he designated as "inter-pocula." Nobody knew what it meant, but I looked it up. It meant—between drinks! (Laughter.) And why that subject should be interjected in this program (Laughter) I can not quite understand; but I was overwhelmed by the demonstration given to our honored guest in San Francisco. I remember approaching the great auditorium and seeking admission as chairman of the meeting. I went up to the door and stated my anxiety to get in, to the policeman on guard, but he said, "Go 'way; if I open the door the people will fall out!" (Prolonged laughter.)

So, wherever our distinguished guest has gone in this country, no matter what may be his sentiments on "inter-pocula" subjects (laughter), strange to say, contrary to all expectations, he is received by sober yet tumultuous audiences! (Laughter.)

I arrived in town today direct from the far west, when I received this invitation to be here tonight, and under all the circumstances accepted it as a matter of course. Some cynical fellow said, "Well, California is enthusiastic and expectant." I said, "No, humble and receptive!" (Laughter and applause.) The only thing that has been tendered me has been this invitation, and I was glad to accept that. (Laughter.)

Time was when California was considered remote. William Cullen Bryant—William Cullen Bryant—I had the names confused for a moment in my mind—(Laughter) when he wished to express the ultimate of distance said, "Where rolls the Oregon and hears no sound save its own dashing." And when Joaquin Miller desired to express the same sentiment, he said "We are so far away that a man might drop dead and God wouldn't know it!" (Laughter.) But within the recollection of living man no less a personage than Daniel Webster said of the far west that it could never be a part of this country, that it would never accept laws from Washington, and that he hoped that an independent empire would be set up there which would maintain amicable relations with the federal government. And lo, "the rejected stone has become the chief stone of the corner!" (Cheers and prolonged applause.)

Indeed, California has become—what was exclusively held for the east—a pivotal state. And, indeed, that is not a matter of surprise to us who know of California and the west. California had previously attained that dignity on two very important occasions—once, when she knocked for admission in 1850 at the doors of the union with a free constitution. At that time there were fifteen slave states and fifteen free states. Her admission, which was reluctantly granted, after the thunders of debate in the senate and in the house, as the thirty-first state gave the preponderance to the states favoring the human freedom; (applause) and, again, in the sixties, the Union armies were enabled to prosecute the war for the Union by reason of the credit which the government received from the output of California gold, then under its control and jurisdiction.

And, now California, while far away, has, in this year of grace, by a gathering, not of the democrats alone, but of the good women and good men who think alike, determined the balance of power; has appeared dramatically on the scene—and unexpectedly—to give to the nation a President—and, my friends, such a President! (Prolonged applause.)

In the recent campaign, I have followed in the furrow made by Mr. Bryan, and I have gathered the harvest; but it was none the less his crop

because I took it. (Laughter and applause.) All over the west during all these long years he has gone, preaching fundamental democracy and human sympathy, and it is his unselfish idea to sow that those who come after him may reap. The seeds thus sown have germinated and they account, I believe, in a very great measure, for that condition which gives success to him who comes after. Mr. Bryan was as St. John howling in the wilderness! (Applause.) But he did not lead us into the wilderness and leave us there. That has been charged to Theodore Roosevelt—that he led his followers into the wilderness and left them there! (Laughter and applause.) He—Mr. Bryan—has brought us out! (Prolonged applause.)

Speaking of Mr. Roosevelt, I recall that it was he who wrote, "The Winning of the West"; (laughter and applause) and I would like to consult that authority, but I do not think it is up to date! (Laughter.) There must be another and important chapter to add. But obviously the logic and the strategy of the campaign on their part was to reconcile the republicans with the progressives, and if they had put up a man of approved progressivism, as, for instance, the governor of California, which was proposed indeed and rejected by Colonel Roosevelt, there might not have been so close a contest; there might have been a different showing of results. But they threw that chance away. That chance has been embraced by democracy. We are not bourgeois, never learning and never forgetting. We have reached that stage of enlightenment where we are always ready to sit down with those who can help us. We have given them the doctrine that they sought under other leadership, and they embraced it, and that is the real secret of "The Awakening of the West."

The west, you must remember, has always leaned toward liberal and progressive ideas. Indeed, I believe the west has preserved the ideals of our institutions. (Applause.) Those who compose the west are men who were hungry for the horizon, who have been filtered through the continent, and who have carried with them in their pilgrimage those primitive ideas of democracy which we find in the teachings of Thomas Jefferson. And so we can picture in the west today the ideal conditions that existed in Colonial days along this effete eastern seaboard. (Laughter and applause.) The scene has shifted—the scepter has passed. So, having those ideals, having given to the country progressivism, having established the initiative, the referendum and popular election by the people of senators, and other measures giving freedom—the new freedom—to business and opportunity, it is not surprising that when the appeal was made by one who was entitled to make it, there should have been a response. And, hence, the west has simply voiced what has always been from the beginning its strong tendency towards a purer and a better democracy. (Applause.)

I know that we have much to hear tonight, and I think it is sufficient to indicate that "The Awakening of the West" is not really expressed in that sentiment "Awakening." The west has always been awake! (Laughter.) It has been wise-awake! (Laughter.) But it has been misled at times by pseudo progressivism, and now it has, as it were, seen with a clearer and a better light; and I believe there is a permanency in the movement, because it is based on the approval of sound doctrines and principles and legislation; and so long as this democratic party, which is so splendidly represented tonight, continues to pursue that same course, there is no reason why the west should not pursue the same course. (Applause.)

I can not refrain from saying that it is a union not only of ideas, but a union of sections—if we must speak of sections. The south is united with the west. (Prolonged cheers and applause.)

I can imagine those dark hours on the night of November seventh, when you wavered between fear and hope, when you did not know the fortunes of the hour, when you looked out upon the horizon and you saw that the south was safe; and then you saw a great army marching over the distant hills carrying the banner of the western states, California the more conspicuous because she was the more dramatic. (Laughter.) I can see you observing that growing army, never expecting to view so formidable a host, not knowing to which side it was about to turn; but then when its banner

bore the name of "Wilson" you divined that it was marching against the ramparts of reaction and against the parapets of privilege! You saw the end of the alliance, of which we have heard so much, between "Corrupt business and corrupt politics." And then you realized that victory was perched upon our banner, and that it was also your banner, just as around the walls of Jericho the army of Joshua marched until the walls fell. And you heard what strain? You heard the southern yell commingling with the western cheer; you heard, "Down South in Dixie" commingling with, "I love you, California!" And then you felt sure that in that union of the south and west there was a new power which would nationalize both the south and the west, which would be a force which would forever destroy mere sectionalism, and which would be educational—which would liberalize, as it were, as all reforms which have come from that region have helped to liberalize and to take within their influence, the more staid and conservative communities. (Applause.) And so the mother east, which has given us the west, rejoices in her children, and she shall share the glory because the men of the west are the children of the east. (Prolonged applause.)

The Toastmaster, Commissioner Newman: In introducing the next speaker, I would like to call your attention to the two or three lines in small black type under his name. It reads as follows: "I shall be satisfied if, when the last settlement is made that my name may be recorded among those who loved and served their fellow man." I do not think that it is necessary to remind anyone who knows Warren Worth Bailey that if that is his wish he will realize it. Mr. Bailey of Pennsylvania.

(At this point a large oil painting of Mr. Bryan was unveiled in the banquet room, amid prolonged cheers and applause, the banqueters all standing.)

#### "THE THIRTY PEACE TREATIES"

(By Hon. Warren Worth Bailey, Member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania.)

Mr. Toastmaster, Mr. Bryan and Friends: At least I was not under any misapprehension regarding the applause (laughter and applause), but I could not join in it without perhaps being misinterpreted (laughter); but surely I would have been glad to have joined in the applause which greeted the unveiling of the picture before us.

I suppose, Mr. Toastmaster, that I enjoy just one distinction in this life, namely, that for twenty years I have been the friend, the faithful friend, I believe, of our distinguished guest of honor. (Applause.) Through good and ill report I have been with him. I am with him today. I have been with him during the darkest of all the days. Nor have I ever for one moment lost faith in this great leader. (Applause.) And I believe that he has proven himself a great leader, one who has gone perhaps a little ahead, but one whom the great common people have been proud to follow in spite of the misrepresentations.

I suppose that I should have begun by saying, "I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him!" (Laughter.) Because, Mr. Bryan,—how many times, how many, how many, how many times has he been dead and buried beyond the hope of resurrection! But lo and behold! (Laughter and applause.)

On the night of the election in 1904 I started at midnight to write an editorial for my paper about the logic of that fateful event. I did not write the editorial, but I wrote "For President in 1908, William Jennings Bryan," and I wrote a note at the top of it,—"Keep that standing at the head of the Johnstown Democrat until the night of the election in 1908. And it stood there. (Laughter and applause.) Now, I might speak about the logic of 1916, of 1920, but I am not going to do it, because I believe the logic of that is apparent to every man of discernment in the United States! (Prolonged applause and cheers.)

I wish I might have a moment to devote to the toast which was assigned to me, about which I knew nothing until I came into the room. I would like to speak of the great power that William Jennings Bryan has been in having ac-